

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 6361

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, UR, US

SUBJECT: LENIN'S BIRTHDAY: BREZHNEV REAPPEARS, ANDROPOV SPEAKS

USIA FOR IEU, IOP, IBS/PS, IPS

1. SUMMARY. THE APRIL 22 KREMLIN CEREMONY COMMEMORATING LENIN'S 106TH BIRTHDAY FEATURED BREZHNEV'S REAPPEARANCE (HIS LAST PUBLIC APPEARANCE WAS MARCH 6) AND ANDROPOV'S SPEECH, WHICH WAS UPBEAT ON "RAZRYADKA" (RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION), DEFENSIVE ON SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND EVEN ON PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, INDIRECT CONCERNING NONCONFORMIST COMMUNIST PARTIES (EXCEPT THE CHINESE), AND MUTED IN CRITICISM OF THE U.S. ADROPOV DEVOTED A LENGTHY PARAGRAPH TO PRAISE OF BREZHNEV PERSONALLY WHICH RECEIVED "PROLONGED APPLAUSE." ALL OF THE MOSCOW-BASED PARTY

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LEADERSHIP WAS PRESNET EXCEPT KIRILENKO,WHO PRESUMABLY IS VACATIONING. END SUMMARY.

2. THE APRIL 22 CEREMONY FOLLOWED THE FORMAT OF PREVIOUS YEARS: GRISHIN, WHO CHAIRED THE MEETING (AS LAST YEAR), ENTERED THE HALL FIRST, FOLLOWED BY BREZHNEV, PODGORNYY, KOSYGIN, SUSLOV AND OTHER MOSCOW-BASED PARTY LEADERS. AS LAST YEAR, KIRILENKO WAS ABSENT, PRESUMABLY ON VACATION NO THAT BREZHNEV IS BACK IN TOWN. THE SEATING ARRANGEMENT WAS UNEXCEPTIONAL: FROM LEFT TO RIGHT, GROMYKO, KULAKOV, PODGORNYY, BREZHNEV, GRISHIN, KOSYGIN, SUSLOV, MAZUROV, ANDROPOV, GRECHKO, AND USTINOV. THE POLITBURO CANDIDATE MEMBERS AND CC SECRETARIES WERE SEATED IN THE SECOND ROW CENTER OF THE DIAS AS FOLLOWS: (FROM LEFT TO RIGHT) PONOMAREV, DEMICHEV, SOLOMENTSEV, KAPITONOV, DOLGIKH, KATUSHEV, CHERNENKO, AND ZIMYANIN. THE PRESS APRIL 23 LISTED THE FULL POLITBURO MEMBERS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER (FOLLOWING BREZHNEV), THEN THE CANDIDATE MEMBERS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER, AND THE CC SECRETARIES IN PROTOCOL ORDER (KAPITONOV, DOLGIKH, KATUSHEV, ZIMYANIN, CHERNENKO.)

3. BREZHNEV SEEMED AT EASE AND COMFORTABLE DURING ANDROPOV'S 50-MINUTE SPEECH, ALTHOUGH IN BRIEF TV CLOSE-UP SHORTS HE LOOKED DRAWN AND TIRED. HE STOPPED TO CHAT WITH SEVERAL PEOPLE, MOST NOTABLY ZIMYANIN, AS HE STROLLED OUT AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING. JUST BEFORE HE LEFT THE DAIS,HE TURNED TO ACKNOWLEDGE APPLAUSE WITH A RELAXED, CASUAL WAVE.

4. PROBABLY THE MOST INTERESTING ASPECT OF THE COMMEMORATIVE SPEECH WAS THAT ANDROPOV WAS CHOSEN TO DELIVERIT (SUSLOV WAS GIVEN THE TASK LAST YEAR). RUMORS PERSIST THAT ANDROPOV MAY BE DESTINED FOR BIGGER THINGS, AND HIS APRIL 22 SPEAKING ASSIGNMENT UNDOUBTEDLY WILL BOOST THIS IMAGE AS A BROAD-GAUGED POLITBURO MEMBER. HIS DELIVERY WAS ANIMATED AND FLUENT, AND HE APPEARED TO BE IN GOOD HEALTH ALTHOUGH HIS GAIT SEEMED A BIT STIFF AND LABORED AS HE RETURNED TO HIS SEAT AFTER CONCLUDING THE SPEECH.

5. HIGHLIGHTS OF THE SPEECH: ON FOREIGN POLICY, ANDROPOV WAS UPBEAT REGARDIN "RAZRYADKA" AND GENERALLY MILD REGARDING FOREIGN PROBLEMS. ONLY THE CHINESE WERE CRITICIZED BY NAME. SOME SPECIFIC POINTS OF INTEREST:

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--ANDROPOV STRESSED THAT THE QUESTION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM WAS PARAMOUNT TODAY, AS IN LENIN'S TIME, BECAUSE IT WAS A QUESTION OF WAR OR PEACE. BUT NOW IT IS POSSIBLE TO AIM FOR A STABLE AND JUST PEACE RATHER THAN A MERE RESPITE BETWEEN WARS, AN SOVIETS HAVE DONE SO. AND "NO MATTER HOW EVENTS UNFOLD IN THE NEAR TERM, THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLES, THE OBJECTIVE PROCESSES OF DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

WILL DEMAND PRESERVATION AND DEEPENING OF DETENTE ("RAZRYADKA")
AS WELL AS CONFIRMATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE."

--THE SUCCESSES OF RECENT YEARS IN TURNING FROM COLD WAR TO
PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE HAVE INVOLVED "SHARP STRUGGLE, TENSION,
AND COMPLICATED WORK," BUT "WE SHALL CONTINUE ON THIS PATH,
SPARING NO EFFORT AND NOT DEVIATING FROM THE GOAL WE HAVE SET."

--IDEOLOGICAL AND CLASS STRUGGLE WILL OF COURSE CONTINUE, BUT
WE ARE FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT INEVITABLE COMPETITION BETWEEN THE TWO
SYSTEMS NEED NOT UNDERMINE THE DURABLE PEACE AND GOOD RELATIONS
WHICH THE USSR OFFERS OTHER COUNTRIES.

--THE SAME FIGURES IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD WHO ACCUSE THE USSR
OF DISTURBING "RAZRYADKA" BY IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE THEMSELVES
CONDUCT A CAMPAIGN OF LIES AND SLANDER AGAINST SOCIALISM.

--RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION ITSELF HAS BECOME CONTROVER-
SIAL IN MANY WESTERN COUNTRIES. INDEED, ANNOUNCEMENTS ARE MADE
THAT, IN THOUGH AND EVEN IN WORD, REMIND ONE OF THE COLD WAR
PERIOD (PRESUMABLY AN ALLUSION TO "PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH").
THIS SHOWS THAT THE POLICY OF COLD WAR, OF "FROM A POSITION OF
STRENGTH" IS "DANGEROUS AND POINTLESS" FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE
AND FOR THE WEST ITSELF.

--DESPITE FACT THAT DETENTE WILL CONTINUE TO BE OBJECTIVE
NECESSITY IN NUCLEAR AGE, ANDROPOV WARNS, "RESPONSIBILITY" IS
STILL NEEDED FROM GOVERNMENTS AND "POLITICAL ACTIVISTS": BACK-
SLIDING, "EVEN TEMPORARY", NOT ONLY WASTES RESOURCES BUT CAN LEAD
TO "DANGEROUS SHARPENING OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION."

--THE SOVIET UNION HAS NO INTENTION OF INTERFERING IN THE AFFAIRS
OF OTHER COUNTRIES, OF "EXPORTING" REVOLUTION. BUT IF A
COUNTRY ITSELF SELECTS THE PATH OF STRUGGLE WITH COLONIALISM FOR
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FOREIGN INTERVENTION, "THEN OUR SYMPATHIES HAVE BEEN AND
WILL BE ON ITS SIDE."

-- "RAZRYADKA" PRESUPPOSES WIDENED INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS AND
EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION. BUT THE USSR HAS NOT AGREED TO ASSIST
EFFORTS AIMED AT HARMING SOCIALISM. "THE PLANS OF REACTIONARY
CIRCLES CONNECTED WITH THIS HAVE NO RELATIONSHIP TO THE
CORRESPONDING SECTIONS OF THE DOCUMENT SIGNED AT HELSINKI."

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6. ANDROPOV TOOK A SOFT, INDIRECT LINE TOWARD MAVERICKS IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT--EXCEPT FOR THE CHINESE, WHOM HE CHARACTERIZED AS ENEMIES OF PEACE AND DETENTE (WHEREUPON THE PRC CHARGE WALKED OUT OF THE HALL).

--HE SAID THAT DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE USSR HAD NOT BEEN AN ANTIPODE TO DEMOCRACY, AS ENEMIES OF LENINISM CHARGED, BUT TO THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE BOURGEOISE. SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY HAD LONG AGO SURPASSED THE MOST DEMOCRATIC BOURGEOIS STATES.

--THE SOVIET EXPERIENCE WAS OPEN TO ALL BUT OBLIGATORY FOR NONE, ALTHOUGH SOVIET COMMUNISTS "NATURALLY WERE PLEASED" WHEN THEIR EXPERIENCE WAS UTILIZED BY FRATERNAL PARTIES.

--AS LENIN SAID, NATIONS MAY COME TO SOCIALISM IN VARIOUS WAYS,
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BUT "THERE ARE BASIC LAWS GOVERNING THIS HISTORICAL PROCESS" WHICH CANNOT BE CHANGED OR EVADED. ONE OF THEM IS THAT SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATIONS REQUIRE GOVERNMENT POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS ALLIES, GOVERNMENT POWER CAPABLE OF DEFENDING THE ATTAINMENTS OF THE REVOLUTION.

7. ON THE QUESTION OF THE CPSU'S LEADERSHIP, ANDROPOV'S FIRST MENTION OF BREZHNEV EVOKED APPLAUSE WHICH SEEMED GENUINELY WARM. ANDROPOV BRIEFLY NOTED THE LENINIST APPROACH OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND ITS POLITBURO, THEN DEVOTED A LENGTHY PARAGRAPH TO BREZHNEV'S PERSONAL QUALITIES (FOR EXAMPLE: WE REMEMBER HOW HIS OUTSTANDING ROLE IN PARTY POLICY WAS PRAISED AT THE 25TH CONGRESS; HE DEEPLY UNDERSTANDS WHAT LABORING PEOPLE WANT; HIS WORK HAS RECEIVED WORLDWIDE RECOGNITION AND SUPPORT).

8. ON OTHER INTERNAL MATTERS, ANDROPOV

--SKIMMED QUICKLY OVER DOMESTIC ECONOMIC MATTERS, EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR EFFICIENCY AND QUALITY OUTPUT AND NOTING THAT ON THE AGRICULTURAL FRONT SPRING FIELD WORK WAS GOING FORWARD SUCCESSFULLY;

--SPOKE STERNLY (AS ONE WOULD EXPECT OF A KGB CHIEF) ABOUT THE NEED FOR STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE LAW "BY ALL CITIZENS, IRRESPECTIVE OF COURSE SOVIET LAWS GIVE NO ONE THE RIGHT TO HARM SOCIETY OR DISTURB THE PUBLIC ORDER;

--CALLED FOR INTENSIFIED STRUGGLE AGAINST THOSE WHO VIOLATE LENINIST PRINCIPLES CONCERNING ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK AND TOWARD PEOPLE. PARTICULARLY INTOLERABLE, HE SAID, WAS "BUREAUCRATISM, WHICH LENIN TERMED THE WORST INTERNAL ENEMY OF THE NEW SOCIETY."

9. OVERALL, THE SPEECH SEEMED CALCULATED TO REINFORCE THE IMAGE PROJECTED AT THE 25TH CONGRESS OF A MATURE, REALISTIC WORLD POWER WHICH IS CONFIDENTLY PURSUING ITS DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN GOALS.
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